

Message Text

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TO AMEMBASSY NICOSIA IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY ANKARA IMMEDIATE

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

S E C R E T STATE 126559

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU, GR

SUBJECT: AMBASSADOR DIMITRIOU'S CALL ON UNDERSECRETARY
SISCO

1. CYPRUS AMBASSADOR DIMITRIOU CALLED ON UNDERSECRETARY
SISCO ON MAY 29 FOR BRIEFING ON SECRETARY'S RECENT VISIT TO
ANKARA. EUR DEPUTY ASSISTANT SECRETARY LAINGEN ALSO
ATTENDED THE MEETING. SISCO SAID HE BELIEVED FROM THESE
DISCUSSIONS THAT TURKS WOULD LIKE TO MAKE PROGRESS, AND
THAT THIS IS A POSITIVE ELEMENT. BITSIOS AND CAGLAYANGIL
HAVE MET, THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN CARAMANLIS AND DEMIREL, AND
THE TWO PRIME MINISTERS WILL BE MEETING. WHILE THIS SERIES
OF HIGH LEVEL MEETINGS ARE NOT LIKELY TO PRODUCE ANY DRAMA-
TIC SUBSTANTIVE BREAKTHROUGH, THEY CAN, NEVERTHELESS, PRO-
VIDE A "CATALYTIC IMPETUS" TO CONTINUE TALKS BETWEEN THE TWO
SIDES. IN ANY CASE, IT IS CLEAR THE TURKS WANT A DIALOGUE.
AT SAME TIME, IN FORESEEABLE FUTURE POLITICAL DIFFICULTIES
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IN ANKARA WILL LIMIT THEIR ABILITY TO MOVE IMMEDIATELY AND
DECISIVELY. IN SHORT, SISCO BELIEVED THERE WOULD BE NEITHER
A DRAMATIC BREAKTHROUGH NOR A DRAMATIC BREAKDOWN.

2. TURKS WERE ALSO INTERESTED IN LIFTING OF AID CUT-OFF. IN MEANTIME THEY HAVE BEEN TRYING TO KEEP LID ON ANTI-AMERICANISM. THEY DON'T WANT TO TAKE STEPS AGAINST THE US, BUT

THERE ARE INCREASING PRESSURES ON THEM TO MOVE IN THIS DIRECTION AND THEY MAY BE COMING TO THE POINT WHERE THEY WILL HAVE TO ACT. THIS IS NOT IN THE INTERESTS OF TURKEY, GREECE, CYPRUS, THE US, NOR IN THE INTERESTS OF STABILITY IN THE EASTERN MEDITERRANEAN.

3. THE ARMS EMBARGO ADDS CONSIDERABLY TO THE DIFFICULTIES IN ANKARA. DIMITRIOU ASKED WHY THE TURKS ON THE ONE HAND REFUSE TO LINK ARMS CUT-OFF TO THE CYPRUS PROBLEM AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, GIVE IMPRESSION THAT REMOVAL OF EMBARGO WOULD MAKE PROGRESS POSSIBLE. SISCO REPLIED THAT THE TURKISH INTERNAL SITUATION IS ALREADY DIFFICULT AND CONCESSIONS WHILE ARMS EMBARGO IN EFFECT WOULD BE TAKEN AS CONCESSIONS UNDER PRESSURE. DIMITRIOU NOTED THIS ARGUMENT BUT SAID THAT CONGRESSMEN NEED SOMETHING NEW, SOME INDICATION OF PROGRESS. SISCO SAID ADMINISTRATION FULLY UNDERSTOOD THIS ARGUMENT, BUT THE LAW IS A BAD LAW AND THE EMBARGO HAS CLEARLY WORKED AGAINST RATHER THAN FOR THE PROGRESS WE ALL WANT. WE THEREFORE INTEND TO WORK WITH THE HOUSE WITH A VIEW TO LIFTING AID CUT-OFF.

4. ASKED ABOUT ECEVIT'S VIEWS, SISCO REPLIED THAT ECEVIT IS PREPARED TO CONSIDER ANY PROPOSALS WHICH TURKISH GOVERNMENT MAKES BUT, OBVIOUSLY, WILL WEIGH SUCH PROPOSALS FROM STANDPOINT OF ITS IMPACT ON DOMESTIC POLITICAL SITUATION. BOTH THE GOVERNMENT AND THE OPPOSITION SEE A SETTLEMENT AS A PLUS. THIS IS POSITIVE FACTOR BUT IT ALSO MAKES TURKS PROCEED CAUTIOUSLY BECAUSE BOTH "INS" AND "OUTS" FEAR THAT ISSUE WILL BE EXPLOITED BY THE OTHER POLITICALLY.

5. DIMITRIOU THEN MENTIONED INTERESTING CUMHURIYET ARTICLE ANALYZING DIFFERENCES BETWEEN GESTURES AND CONCESSIONS. SISCO SAID OUR ATTITUDE WAS THAT TIME FOR GESTURES WAS LONG SECRET

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GONE AND THAT WHAT WAS NEEDED WAS AN OVERALL APPROACH WHICH DEALT WITH ALL INTER-RELATED PROBLEMS -- FEDERAL STRUCTURE, AREA, CENTRAL GOVERNMENT POWERS, REFUGEES, ETC.

6. DIMITRIOU ASKED WHAT THE TURKISH OBJECTIVE WAS. SISCO SAID THAT HE COULD NOT SPEAK FOR THE TURKS BUT THAT IN HIS JUDGMENT TURKS BASICALLY WANT A SETTLEMENT ON THE ISLAND WHICH WILL GUARANTEE AGAINST THE KIND OF SITUATION WHICH PREVAILED BEFORE THEIR MILITARY INTERVENTION. TURKS ALSO WANT ECONOMIC VIABILITY FOR THE ISLAND AND, IF THERE IS A SETTLEMENT, HIS FEELING WAS THAT THERE WOULD BE A GOOD DEAL OF DE FACTO COOPERATION ON THE GROUND. TURKS APPEAR TO SEE SUCH A NEW ARRANGEMENT AS A LONG-RANGE ELEMENT OF STABILITY

WHICH CAN AVOID DIFFICULTIES OF THE PAST. DIMITRIOU SAID THAT THE TURKS MUST TAKE CERTAIN CALCULATED RISKS IN THE NEGOTIATIONS. SISCO SAID THAT PRIOR TO THE CRISIS THERE

WAS A FEELING THAT MAKARIOS HAD THE UPPER HAND AND THAT IF THERE WAS NO PROGRESS IN THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS, DE FACTO SITUATION WAS FAVORABLE TO THE GREEK CYPRIOTS. THE TURKS FEEL THE PRESENT SITUATION HAS REVERSED THIS.

7. SISCO SAID US HAS TOLD TURKISH LEADERS THAT TURKEY HAS AN INTEREST IN LEGITIMIZING NEW SITUATION ON ISLAND AND THAT WHAT MIGHT BE AVAILABLE TODAY IN TERMS OF A SETTLEMENT MIGHT NOT BE AVAILABLE TOMORROW. DIMITRIOU AGAIN CRITICIZED DENKTASH'S CONTINUING UNHELPFUL STATEMENTS AND PARTICULARLY HIS ATTACKS ON MAKARIOS. DIMITRIOU INFERRED THAT THIS WAS VERY SHORT-SIGHTED AND THAT MAKARIOS WAS NOT THE ISSUE. HE PERSONALLY DID NOT THINK THAT MAKARIOS WOULD STAY ON AS PRESIDENT IF AN ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT COULD BE REACHED. THE ARCHBISHOP HAD IN FACT TOLD THIS BOTH TO HIM AND CLERIDES PERSONALLY. INGERSOLL

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